6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RFl Great Russia RFl

women as stupid and nasty, conceited and licentious, and as the mainspring of all calamities of the world.[10] But Tolstoy, too, like the Russian popular view of life, did make a distinction between the woman and the mother.[11]

Hostile drives, mistrust and destructive aggression might be revealed also in attitudes towards strangers. These are sometimes likened to animals, especially dogs. Comparing people with beasts indicates an inclination to abase them and to mistreat them. Such an attitude is shown especially toward those who are considered to be "enemies." When talking about the Tartars, the people would say "the dog of a Tartar." In a like way, xenophobia was manifested in the attitudes toward the "thrice accursed Latins," that is, the Western, non-Orthodox peoples.

Perhaps this need to abuse and to destroy in order to demonstrate one's power was manifested also in treatment of those who were abandoned and helpless, such as prisoners in foreign wars, as well as prisoners in rebellions and civil wars at home, or convicted criminals. In the rebellions and civil wars atrocities were committed by both sides, the government troops and the rebels, the Orthodox and the Dissenters, the Whites and the Reds. In a similar manner convicted criminals, domestic servants and serfs were often used as targets of destructive aggression.

Tendency to abuse was manifested also in the relations between merchants and customers, capital and labor. In the lowest strata ruthless self-seeking took also the form of begging. There was a great number of beggars; begging became a widely spread business. Some of the beggars became people of considerable means. Leaders among the beggars would mutilate, deprive of eyesight, and deform healthy men and boys to use them as their instruments in begging. Entire villages, and even some regions were said to have made begging their regular profession.[12]

II

In circumstances where power-seeking, destructive aggression and mistrust prevail any accident may be interpreted as a sign of another person's hostile intentions. The other person tends to be looked upon as a potential enemy. "You mustn't stroke anyone's head—you might get your hand bitten off," said Lenin.[13] And as

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There is also a deliberate policy on the part of the ruling class
177 626 609 to prevent personal contact and exchange of ideas between the Soviet subjects and the foreigners. In this way the Bolshevik Party is performing the same role in the social and psychological development of Russia as the Orthodox Church has done in the past. Xenophobia and a deliberate avoidance of strangers easily develops in such circumstances, traits which have been noticed by all the observers of Soviet society. Xenophobia is so outstanding in the Soviet world that it has been noticed even by the most casual and most friendly visitors. Soviet authorities have done their best to encourage this feeling. "We were completely cut off [625] from the great bulk of the Russian people by constant police surveillance, by propaganda and by the threat of punishment."[7] "The air itself was clothed with hate and suspicion . . . penetrated even to the child world. . . . Our next door neighbours, too, were grilled, and though we had known them for years, they took to avoiding us utterly."[8] As a rule, only police informers are assigned to foreigners as servants because everyone else is afraid to work for them.

517 647 In such conditions original ideas and independent intellectual pursuits are fraught with great risks and it is often the less original, the mediocre, the cynical, the shrewd and the unscrupulous that take the lead. Some independent and creative people in such circumstances tend to become apathetic, to withdraw, to sever social contacts and put an end to their creative activities.[9] Others tend to seek safety in bureaucratic routine and in avoidance of initiative and responsibility. For each decision they tend to cover themselves by presenting the matter to various committees, or by seeking the Party's advice, thus letting others shoulder the responsibility.

517 665 The social consequences of such a development are then manifested in a pronounced anti-intellectualism, bureaucratism and vigilantism. The ascendancy of anti-intellectualistic and watchdog trends in Soviet society is well expressed, for instance, in the change in the composition of the membership of the Politbure. In this topmost ruling body the more intellectual types of revolutionaries have been gradually purged and replaced by the activists, the semi-educated professional conspirators, Party organizers, agitators and former security officials.